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Evaluations of participants and persons associated with observed aggression.

Alan Jay Lincoln
University of Massachusetts Amherst

EVALUATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS AND PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH OBSERVED AGGRESSION

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Alan Jay Lincoln

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Alan Jay Lincoln

Approved as to style and content by:

George Leonard
(Chairman of Committee)

Alice H. Eagly
(Member)

Stanley M. Moss - Acting
(Head of Department)

(Member)

(Month) (Year)

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ABSTRACT

Employing a tension reduction model based on the preference for perceiving a just social exchange, it was predicted that observation of aggressive behavior would result in differing evaluations dependent upon the consequences of the evaluation. Subjects observing Aggression viewed slides portraying violent attacks by policemen against Negro civil rights workers, while other subjects in the Nonaggression condition observed the same slides devoid of aggressive cues. Evaluations of the participants on a set of bipolar adjectives followed exposure. As predicted, subjects were found to devalue an observed suffering victim (Negro) when they believed that their responses were unavailable to the victim. The same victim was enhanced when subjects believed that their evaluations of the victim would be made known to him. The observed attacker (Policeman) was devalued regardless of the availability of the evaluation to him. Evaluations of a Victim-associated person were directly related to the evaluation of the observed victim. It was also found that the degree of perceived justification of the aggression and the order of presentation of the evaluations affected the responses of the observers.

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

What are the effects of exposure to aggressive action on an observer's evaluation of the participants? What conditions will elicit a compassionate attitude toward the victimized person? Will effects of exposure generalize to other persons whom an observer may associate with either the victim or the attacker in such an aggressive act? The present study was designed to answer these questions.

An individual who is neither a direct observer nor an actual participant of aggressive behavior may still be exposed to it through the various mass media. It is an unusual occurrence when an observer actually comes into contact with other persons he has observed in an aggressive relationship. However, it may be fairly commonplace to come into contact with other persons that the observer tends to associate with the aggression. This is particularly likely if the actual participants have easily identifiable characteristics, such as being Negro or wearing a police uniform. These overt characteristics are easily identifiable and may serve to act as generalizable stimuli to other policemen and Negroes.

If one observes aggression, one may interpret it as either justified or unjustified. The degree of attributed justification helps to determine one's impressions formed of the participants. In most

aggressive acts one may discern two parties: an agent of the aggression and a victim of the aggression. The impressions an observer forms are dependent on whether the object of the impression is the victim or the agent of aggression, or if the object of the impression is neither agent nor victim, whether he tends to be associated with the victim or his attacker.

In any relationship it may be possible to distinguish between the "inputs" and "outcomes" of the participants. Any individual's inputs are composed of two distinct elements: (1) his observable behavior related to the interaction itself, and (2) the individual's inherent qualities. Outcomes are simply the events that happen to a person within or as a result of his relationship. Both inputs and outcomes would be measurable on a continuum from highly positive to highly negative.

In observing an attacker-victim relationship the observer's justification of the attack may still be of prime importance in determining his impressions of the participants. A justified attack is one in which: (1) the victim's poor outcomes are counterbalanced by his unfavorable inputs, and (2) the attacker receives more positive outcomes than the victim but his inputs are equally more positive. For example, if a mugger is aggressively treated by the police, the mugger would be perceived as receiving negative outcomes (e.g., pain, injury, etc.), but he himself is perceived to have contributed negatively to the relationship (e.g., acting illegally, being cruel, irresponsible, etc.). The policeman would be perceived as receiving

less negative outcomes than his victim (e.g., he is alert, conscientious, doing his job well, etc.). Thus, in this situation the ratios of outcomes to inputs of the two participants would be perceived as equal.

$$\frac{\text{Policeman's Outcomes (HI)}}{\text{Policeman's Inputs (HI)}} = \frac{\text{Criminal's Outcomes (LO)}}{\text{Criminal's Inputs (LO)}}$$

In other words, the victim and the agent each merits his fate. A state of justice exists. There is equity.

However, a subject may also observe an unjust relationship. An unjustified attack would be one in which the victim receives outcomes more negative than warranted by his inputs, while the attacker receives outcomes more positive than warranted by his inputs. For example, assume that a civil rights worker is attacked suddenly. The victim receives negative outcomes, but his inputs are such that he is perceived to warrant more positive outcomes (assuming the perceiver is in favor of civil rights workers). The attacker receives outcomes more positive than the victim's, but his inputs are perceived to be lower. Thus, the ratios of outcomes to inputs of the two parties are unequal during and after the attack.

$$\frac{\text{Agent's(A) Outcomes(O) (HI)}}{\text{Agent's(A) Inputs(I) (LO)}} \neq \frac{\text{Victim's(V) Outcomes(O) (LO)}}{\text{Victim's(V) Inputs(I) (HI)}}$$

Neither the victim nor the attacker merits his fate, and a state of injustice would be seen to exist.

It is conceivable that one or both parties may be perceived to be experiencing injustice without regard to the outcome/input ratio

that exists between the parties. However, when one considers aggressive behavior the fate of one member is dependent upon the behavior of the other. Thus, it is preferable to view the two parties as interacting. Furthermore, during an aggressive exchange it is not possible for one party alone to be perceived as experiencing injustice without perceiving an unequal ratio between the interacting parties.

It is proposed that observing an unjust relationship is unpleasant and tension-producing to the observer. See Adams (1965) for a similar set of assumptions involving the actual participants of a nonaggressive, unjust relationship.

There are several responses that an observer may make to alleviate his own experienced tension and unpleasantness. If it is possible to help the victim, he may attempt to do so. That is, he may try to raise the victim's outcomes. If it is possible to affect the attacker, the observer may attempt to retaliate--lower the attacker's outcomes. Either or both of these responses would tend to create a more just relationship.

During Observation $\dfrac{A_O\ (HI)}{A_I\ (LO)} \neq \dfrac{V_O\ (LO)}{V_I\ (HI)}$

Appropriate Response $\dfrac{A_O \downarrow}{A_I}$ and/or $\dfrac{V_O \uparrow}{V_I}$

After Response $\dfrac{A_O\ (LO)}{A_I\ (LO)} = \dfrac{V_O\ (HI)}{V_I\ (HI)}$

However, if it seems impossible to compensate or retaliate appropriately, the only alternative open to the observer (to restore a just relationship) is to alter his perception of the participants' inputs. Perceptions of behavioral inputs are difficult to distort, but the individual's inherent inputs are more open to reinterpretation. Thus the observer may cognitively lower the inherent inputs he attributes to the victim or cognitively enhance those of the attacker. For example, he may see the victim as stupid, irrational, and impulsive and/or see the attacker as intelligent, rational, and thoughtful. If this occurs, the victim's negative outcomes appear to be warranted by his negative inherent inputs, and the attacker's more positive outcomes appear to be warranted by his more positive inherent inputs.

During Observation $$\frac{A_O\ (HI)}{A_I\ (LO)} \neq \frac{V_O (LO)}{V_I (HI)}$$

Appropriate Response $$\frac{A_O}{A_I \uparrow} \text{ and/or } \frac{V_O}{V_I \downarrow}$$

After Response $$\frac{A_O\ (HI)}{A_I\ (HI)} = \frac{V_O\ (LO)}{V_I\ (LO)}$$

So far four possible reactions to perceived injustice have been stated. A fifth possibility is that the observer will tolerate perceiving the injustice as such. This would occur if the responses which act to restore justice are too costly to the observer. For example, if raising the victim's outcomes or lowering the attacker's outcomes involves the risk of the observer's own injury, he may choose to tolerate perceiving

the injustice if no other appropriate response is available. If cognitively enhancing the attacker's inherent inputs would be inconsistent with a strong belief held by the observer, he may again choose to tolerate perceiving the injustice.

To summarize, an observer of unjust aggression may respond in any of four ways which would restructure the relationship to appear more just. If it is possible to make behavioral adjustments, observers may:

(1) Compensate the victim thereby increasing his outcomes to a more positive level.

(2) Retaliate against the attacker thereby reducing his outcomes to a more negative level.

If it is impossible to make behavioral adjustments observers may make belief adjustments; that is:

(3) Cognitively lower the inherent inputs of the victim.

(4) Cognitively raise the inherent inputs of the attacker.

Certain recent experimental findings tend to substantiate some of these suggestions. In a study by Lerner and Simmons (1966), subjects were found to devalue and reject a suffering victim whom they observed, particularly when the victim was perceived to be acting altruistically. This finding lends support to the third alternative response. The authors suggested that such devaluation occurred as a result of the subjects' need to believe in a "just world"; people should get what they deserve or, after the fact, deserve what they get.

A portion of the Lerner and Simmons findings resulted from a situation in which subjects believed they were powerless to alter the

fate of the victim--change his outcomes. That is, subjects believed that it was impossible to make behavioral adjustments. Subjects in this condition were found to strongly devalue the victim--lower his inputs. In an additional condition it appeared that the victim had been compensated for her suffering by the observer's action prior to evaluation. In this case, there was less devaluation, but still no evidence of either enhancement or compassion. However, subjects did attempt to compensate the victim when given the opportunity substantiating suggestion one above.

Perhaps what is necessary to elicit compassion for an innocent, suffering victim is a belief that the victim will become aware of the evaluation and thereby be compensated by a positive evaluation. That is, the victim's outcomes would be raised by his knowing that others perceived him to be a good person.

Within the present framework, a civil rights worker who is suddenly attacked without provocation resembles an altruistic victim. Lerner and Simmons found that the strongest rejection and devaluation occurred when the victim appeared to be acting altruistically. Thus the use of an altruistic victim offers the strongest test of the conditions necessary for eliciting a compassionate response. If this attack is witnessed indirectly (e.g., news broadcasts, photographs, etc.) intervention is not possible. However, the observer's evaluation of the victim may be compassionate rather than degrading if he believes that the victim might be compensated by a positive evaluation.

Thus, following observation of unjustified aggression, the evaluation of the victim and his attacker will be dependent upon the observer's belief in the availability of his impressions to the participants.

A limitation of the Lerner and Simmons study was that subjects' impressions of the agent of the aggression were not measured. After observing unjust violent attack, the observer may be reacting to both the victim and the agent in the manner suggested previously. The present study measured observers' impressions of both the victim and the agent.

Based on the reasoning presented, the following hypotheses were stated. Following the observation of unjustified aggression observers will:

(1) Devalue the victim, when the subject believes that his evaluation is private and unavailable to the victim.

(2) Positively evaluate the victim, when the subject believes that his evaluation is public and available to the victim.

(3) Devalue the attacker when the subject believes that his evaluation is public and available to the attacker.

The occurrence of the fourth alternative response--that observers would enhance their evaluation of the agent in the "private" condition--was not predicted. In the present experiment the attackers were policemen, and it seemed that college students would find giving enhanced evaluations of police too costly, they would prefer to tolerate perceiving the injustice as such or to restore justice by devaluing the victim.

The present study also measured the observer's impressions of people he tends to associate with the aggressor and his victim.

For example, if the observed attacker is a policeman and his victim is a Negro, other policemen and other Negroes may be "associated" with the aggressive behavior by the presence of common cues. It is expected that evaluations of associated persons will be affected by stimulus generalization. See Berkowitz and Geen (1966) for a more detailed explanation of the association mechanism.

It was predicted that if subjects were aware of the associative cues:

(4) Evaluations of associated persons would be directly related to the evaluation of the observed referent person. That is, the lower the referent person was rated, the more negative would be the rating of the associated person; and the more positive the referent person was evaluated, the higher would be the rating of the associated person.

In addition, since perceiving injustice produces tension, the greater the perceived injustice the greater the resulting tension, and the greater the need to respond in a tension reducing manner. It is conceivable that the greater the tension the observer experiences the more extreme would be the response necessary to eliminate it. The extremity of the response necessary to restore justice should be dependent on the degree of attributed injustice. That is:

(5) The less the perceived justification of the aggression, the more extreme the response will be in the direction that tends to restore justice.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Pre-tests

Stimilus material used for exposure to unjust aggression was rated by independent observers according to how justified they perceived the aggressive acts to be. No verbal description of the participants or the behavior was included in the pre-test. Twenty-four subjects, using a six-point scale ranging from "totally justified" to "totally unjustified", rated each slide. Slides which were considered to portray action which was to some degree unjustified were retained in an initial group. All these slides except those with ratings having a standard deviation greater than 1.5 units were used in the main study. Thus, the final 21 slides contained those normatively rated as portraying unjustified aggressive behavior and of low variance.

An independent pre-test was also conducted to investigate the possibility that subjects would resist giving a negative evaluation to a Negro stimulus person. Verbal descriptions, similar to those employed in the present research, of positive and negative persons were presented to 44 subjects. Half of the "positive" persons were described as Caucasian and half as Negroid. "Negative" stimulus persons were similarly identified. Thus a 2 x 2 factorial design, with the factors Race and Positivity was used.

The dependent measure was identical to the measure employed in the present study. An analysis of variance indicated that the main effect of Positivity was highly significant ($F_{1,40} = 33.6$, $p < .001$), but that of Race was not significant ($F_{1,40} = 1.65$). Negroes tended to be evaluated lower than the corresponding Caucasian regardless of the level of Positivity, (interaction $F < 1$). Thus, there was no prevailing tendency for subjects to be more resistant to evaluating Negroes negatively than to evaluating whites negatively; any resistance to devaluing individuals would not be confined to Negroes.

Subjects

In the main study the subjects were 191 Caucasian males and females enrolled in introductory psychology classes at the University of Massachusetts. To facilitate analysis, the scores of 11 subjects were randomly deleted--with the qualification that there would be 45 subjects in each of the four experimental conditions, and that within these four cells the distribution of victim-associated, agent-associated, and nonassociated transcripts be equal. No more than four subjects were deleted from any one cell of the experimental design.

Design and Overview

In order to test the hypotheses it was necessary to use a two phase design. The first phase was a 2 x 2 factorial design. Subjects were randomly assigned to observe either unjustified Aggression or Nonaggression. Evaluations by persons observing Nonaggression served as a control group. Half of the subjects at each level of aggression were assigned to either a Private or a Public condition of evaluation.

Subjects were assigned to the Private or Public conditions by means of an "important message" to the subjects. Half of the subjects were told that their evaluations were totally private. The other half were informed that their evaluations would be given to the "Commission" and forwarded to the stimulus person, or, in the case of the "associated" person, given directly to the person they evaluated. (See Appendix B.)

Trait attribution tasks, consisting of 15 pairs of bipolar adjectives on a set of nine-point scales, were counterbalanced for order of presentation. See Lerner, 1966. Following observation of an aggressive act, subjects evaluated the Negro victim and his attacker, a policeman. Following observation of Nonaggression, subjects evaluated the same stimulus persons, who were shown in pictures with all aggressive cues deleted.

The second phase of the design followed the collection of the first two dependent measures. Subjects, already assigned to a given level of aggression and evaluation, were additionally assigned to one of three levels of "association", by means of the interview transcript. Three transcripts were used. Transcripts were identical except for the occurrence of cues used to form the association with the persons depicted on the slides. The stimulus person was portrayed as either a white policeman, (Agent-associated); a Negro fireman, (Victim-associated); or a white fireman, (Nonassociated). The interview revealed a person with conventional family background, hobbies, etc.

Following exposure to the interview subjects were asked to designate the race, occupation, and several irrelevant features of the person portrayed in the interview. The third evaluation, that of the

associated interviewee, followed several interpolated numerical tasks.

Considering the data collected in the second phase, each subject now was in one of twelve possible factorial cells. The factors were two levels of aggression, two levels of evaluation, and three levels of association. Evaluations following exposure to Nonaggression served as a baseline response.

Materials

Aggressive stimuli. Aggressive acts were depicted by 21 photographs processed into standard transparent slides, reproduced from widely read periodicals. All slides depicted Caucasian, uniformed policemen attacking Negro males.

Nonaggressive stimuli. The slides used to expose subjects to aggressive behavior were edited with "masking" tape to portray Caucasian and Negro males and females interacting without any evident aggressive cues.

Communications. The tape recorded communications accompanying the slides portraying aggressive interaction and nonaggressive behavior both were attributed to the same high authority source, the "Inter-Racial Commission for the Investigation of Public Behavior". They were similar in length and format, but differed in theme. Aggressive behavior was portrayed as unjustified by stressing that the victims were all peaceful demonstrators, civil rights workers, etc. The Nonaggression communication used similar descriptions of the stimulus persons, but there was no mention of aggression or suffering. (The communications are presented in Appendix A.)

Experimental booklet. The mimeographed booklet contained several tasks and measures. It was the mechanism by which the subjects were assigned to the latter two independent variables--evaluation and association. (The booklet is presented in Appendix B.) All booklets contained a measure of "associative cue awareness". In addition, subjects' perception of the level of perceived justification was measured in the Aggression condition under the guise of initial recall testing. The questionnaire given to subjects observing Nonaggression deleted the items dealing with the aggressive acts.

A second recall test similar to the first was included at the end of the booklet to minimize subjects' suspicions. Finally, subjects were asked several questions measuring awareness of the actual purpose of the study.

Instructions

Subjects were brought into the experimental room in groups, seated, and presented with an experimental booklet. The following tape recorded instructions were then presented.

"This study is being conducted with the approval of the Department of Psychology. The study is designed to investigate awareness and memory. The study will compare the typical memory study which often uses nonsense stimuli, with a study which uses complex social stimuli. That is some groups of subjects will receive simple nonsense stimuli and other groups complex social stimuli. This group will receive the complex stimuli. We are particularly interested in the effect of intervening tasks on memory potential. Specifically, there are two types of intervening tasks.

Intervening tasks may be either related or unrelated to the material to be remembered, that is relevant or irrelevant. It is also possible to give combinations of relevant and irrelevant tasks and determine the combined effect. We know that the more relevant the tasks are to the initial material, the greater will be the amount remembered in the typical memory study, but we do not know what happens with complex social stimuli. In this experiment you will be exposed to some material to be remembered, and then you will have several short tasks to concentrate on. These tasks will be either all relevant, all irrelevant, or some combination. Different groups of subjects will be in different conditions of what we call "relevancy", that is they will receive different types of tasks. In addition, we are using two kinds of initial complex social stimuli to be remembered: high arousing and low arousing. We will then be able to see if there is any difference in memory potential because of different types of intervening tasks, differences in the arousal quality of the initial material, as well as differences in the complexity of the material."

"We will now begin the experiment on memory unless there are any questions.... Do not open your booklets until you are told to do so. You will be presented shortly with the complex social material we are using to measure memory and awareness. This material has been loaned to us generously by an inter-racial commission investigating public behavior. They have also supplied us with a sound tape. We are using this material because it meets our requirements of being multi-medial, that is visual and audio. It is also complex and fairly difficult to remember. In addition, the commission had available both high arousing and nonarousing material."

"Before we begin, just a brief word about the commission. The National Commission for the Investigation of Public Behavior was established two years ago by the National Association of University Educators. The commission's program involves the investigation of many facets of public life ranging from violent group behavior to peaceful individual behavior. The commission is nonpolitical and functions only for the advancement of scientific knowledge and the minimization of societal problems."

"Pay close attention to both the slides and the sound tape. Try to concentrate on what you see and hear. Your retention of this material will be measured following completion of the intervening tasks. Are there any questions?"

Exposure to either Aggression or Nonaggression followed the above instructions. At the completion of the exposure, subjects were read the following instructions.

"To test for memory loss due to intervening tasks, we must first have an indication of your initial awareness of the materials. Break the seal on your booklet and turn to the first page which is entitiled 'Recall Test One'. Follow the instructions at the top of the page. When you finish page one, close your booklets."

When all booklets were closed, subjects were further instructed:

"Please turn to the second page in your booklets which is entitled 'Instructions for Relevant Tasks 1 and 1A.' Read the instructions carefully and continue in your booklet until you finish. Work quickly, but carefully. It is important that you diligently complete each task in order for us to measure retention accurately. Also remember that the tasks labeled irrelevant are only irrelevant in respect to the initial slides. They are relevant in respect to measuring memory."

Subjects received the remaining instructions in their experimental booklets.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Data relevant to the internal validity of the several evaluative scales will be reported first, followed by information concerning the success of the experimental manipulations and subjects' awareness. The question of sex differences will be considered before the presentation of analyses testing the various hypotheses. Finally, an hypothesis formulated post-experimentally--but prior to data analysis--will be suggested and tested.

Consistency of Evaluative Scales

Victim evaluation. To determine whether the 15 items were interrelated and comprised a single measurement scale, inter-item correlations were computed. These correlations were averaged using Fisher's Z transformation. The mean correlation coefficient was +.26 ($N = 180$, $p < .01$), and there were no negative correlations. All 15 items had mean correlations with the other 14 items which were significant at the .05 level. The mean correlation of each individual item with the total score was +.55 ($N = 180$, $p < .001$). Therefore, further analyses of the victim evaluation were made using total evaluation scores. Correlational data for the victim evaluation are presented in Table 1.

Agent evaluation. The 15 items comprising the agent evaluation were highly correlated. The mean inter-item correlation was +.52 ($N + 180$, $p < .001$).

Table 1

Inter-Correlations of Victim Evaluation Items

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total
15 Sincere	39[a]	39	17	11	20	30	41	22	20	36	01	25	39	47	56
14 Warm	24	37	13	20	41	24	30	16	16	22	25	44	16		60
13 Unselfish	24	36	24	16	24	39	38	27	29	30	19	44			64
12 Courteous	29	49	31	23	22	20	31	25	36	40	22				64
11 Flexible	03	23	23	24	15	10	03	12	18	20					40
10 Reasonable	34	39	34	20	01	36	41	21	38						63
9 Patient	19	31	25	31	00	17	25	32							54
8 Calm	13	28	17	25	14	28	21								51
7 Responsible	42	31	20	06	22	57									60
6 Mature	32	19	20	16	22										59
5 Imaginative	23	19	02	05											39
4 Easygoing	04	27	24												41
3 Cooperative	16	26													54
2 Likeable	42														63
1 Intelligent															51

a. Correlations are to two places; decimal point was deleted.

Table 2

Inter-Correlations of Agent Evaluation Items

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total
15 Sincere	27[a]	47	33	42	32	50	47	29	39	50	41	48	43	48	61
14 Warm	47	64	57	57	59	54	49	64	73	60	72	62	46		82
13 Unselfish	41	53	57	54	42	49	47	38	57	66	45	70			74
12 Courteous	51	67	70	62	52	56	56	49	70	81	54				87
11 Flexible	27	42	36	53	42	38	36	44	55	59					66
10 Reasonable	49	53	67	60	54	57	60	52	74						88
9 Patient	38	60	49	58	48	50	45	54							78
8 Calm	27	41	39	34	38	43	44								62
7 Responsible	43	55	62	37	40	66									72
6 Mature	49	61	60	40	53										75
5 Imaginative	47	54	55	38											67
4 Easygoing	34	54	52												70
3 Cooperative	51	63													77
2 Likeable	71														80
1 Intelligent															63

a. Correlations are to two places; decimal point was deleted.

Table 3

Inter-Correlations of Associated Person Evaluation Items

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total
15	Sincere	22[a]	53	49	54	12	47	47	48	61	40	63	49	81	48	65
14	Warm	27	57	50	49	28	47	46	46	48	69	43	59	52		80
13	Unselfish	27	39	37	38	23	45	43	34	39	49	31	48			67
12	Courteous	21	47	43	36	15	40	39	49	31	48	34				71
11	Flexible	07	24	28	35	14	33	22	30	20	31					49
10	Reasonable	29	48	55	51	18	53	51	51	60						78
9	Patient	30	42	48	42	05	40	47	61							68
8	Calm	30	30	39	46	1	44	40								64
7	Responsible	39	44	36	36	25	69									68
6	Mature	53	41	31	30	33										73
5	Imaginative	35	13	09	03											40
4	Easygoing	11	41	57												60
3	Cooperative	19	51													63
2	Likeable	32														64
1	Intelligent															50

a. Correlations are to two places; decimal point was deleted.

Mean intercorrelations for each item were significant at the .001 level. The range of mean inter-correlations was from +.41 to +.62. The mean r of the items with the total score was +.75 (N = 180, p< .001). Due to the high inter-correlation, further analyses were performed using total agent evaluation scores. Correlations for the agent evaluation items are presented in Table 2.

Associated person evaluation. The mean inter-item correlation for the associated person evaluative scale was +.41(N = 180, p < .001). The mean correlation of the individual items with the total score was +.62 (N = 180, p < .001). Further analyses were performed on total evaluation scores. Table 3 contains the correlational data for the associated person evaluations.

In view of the consistently positive inter-item correlations, all 15 items were combined to yield a total score which will be referred to below.

Evaluations as a Function of the Sex of Subject

Due to an oversight, "sex of subjects" was recorded for only 42 male and 38 female subjects (out of a total of N = 180). Were there any differences in ratings as a function of sex? If males and females evalutaed the stimulus persons differently it would be necessary to treat sex as an independent variable throughout the entire analyses. Similar ratings by males and females would allow combining of the data of identified males and females with the remaining sample.

Victim evaluation. An analysis of variance using the scores of 36 males and 36 females chosen from the available sample, with an equal N

for each experimental condition, indicated no significant differences in ratings as a function of "sex of subject". However, there was a slight tendency for males to be more affected by the observation of Aggression. In the Private condition of evaluation, males devalued the victim more than females. The mean devaluations were 7.22 and 4.55 respectively. The mean enhancements of the victim in the Public condition were 14.78 for males and 3.55 for females. The significant aggression by evaluation interaction was as predicted ($F_{1,64} = 5.31$, $p < .025$). When male and female subject data were combined, subjects in the subsample devalued the victim in the Private condition and enhanced the victim in the Public evaluation condition after observing Aggression. Male and female subjects were pooled together for further analyses of the victim evaluation. The analysis of variance is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Victim Evaluation in a Subsample of Males and Females

Source	df	MS	F	p
Sex (A)	1	355.55	1.73	.20
Aggression (B)	1	34.72		
Evaluation (C)	1	56.88		
A x B	1	64.22		
A x C	1	1.39		
B x C	1	1088.89	5.31	.01
A x B x C	1	249.39	1.21	
Error	64	204.94		

Agent evaluation. Within the subsample of 36 males and females a significant sex by evaluation interaction was found ($F_{1,64} = 5.25$, $p < .05$). That is, disregarding the level of aggression, males responded more positively than females in the Private condition (Males = 72.00, Females = 64.11), but less positively than females in the Public condition (Males = 61.89, Females = 76.22). Evaluations following observation of Nonaggression were more positive than those following observation of Aggression ($F_{1,64} = 18.96$, $p < .001$). There was no difference in ratings between males and females as a function of the combination of the two independent variables--aggression and evaluation ($F_{1,64} < 1$). The entire analysis of variance is presented in Table 5. In addition, there were no significant differences in total scores between the sex-identified sample and the remaining subjects. Therefore, further analyses of the agent ratings were conducted without regard to sex.

Table 5

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Agent Evaluation in a Subsample of Males and Females

Source	df	MS	F	p
Sex (A)	1	186.89		
Aggression (B)	1	8022.22	18.96	.001
Evaluation (C)	1	18.00		
A x B	1	882.00	2.09	
A x C	1	2222.22	5.25	.05
B x C	1	450.00	1.06	
A x B x C	1	72.00		
Error	64	423.16		

Effectiveness of the Experimental Manipulations

Were the "associated persons" genuinely associated with the aggressor or the victim in the minds of the subjects? That is, were subjects aware of the associative cues? Several checks were available to determine awareness. Subjects observing aggressive behavior were asked to indicate the percentage of Negro victims. All subjects in this condition responded that 75% or more of the observed victims were Negro (53 subjects said 100% of the victims were Negro; 24 said 90%; 13 responded 75%). In addition, the evaluative scales were introduced with the instructions to evaluate the NEGRO and the POLICEMAN. Thus, the victim was identified by his racial characteristics, and an association could later be made with race as a cue. Subjects were subsequently asked to identify the race and occupation of the associated person described in the interview. All subjects responded correctly, although a few had to reread the transcript to answer this question. It was evident, therefore, that all subjects possessed the information necessary for forming the appropriate association before the evaluation was made.

Subjects' Awareness

Eleven subjects, about equally divided among experimental conditions, indicated that they thought the purpose of the study was not primarily to investigate memory, but to determine their attitudes toward Negroes and/or police. However, no subject indicated that he was aware of the existence of more than the particular experimental condition to which he was assigned or that he had any notion of the experimental predictions. Therefore, their data were retained.

Devaluation and Enhancement of the Victim

Hypothesis 1 stated that the victim would be devalued if subjects evaluated him privately, believing that the evaluation would be unavailable to the victim. In contrast, Hypothesis 2 predicted that the victim's traits would be enhanced if subjects rated him publicly in the belief that the evaluations would be made available to the victim. Therefore an analysis of variance was computed to assess the effects of the two independent variables of aggression (Aggression versus Nonaggression) and evaluation (Private versus Public). In this 2 x 2 design, the four cell variances were homogeneous ($F_{max} = 1.12$, $a = 4$, $n = 45$).

The predicted interaction between levels of aggression and levels of evaluation was highly significant ($F_{1,176} = 9.21$, $p < .005$), due to differential evaluations of the victim within levels of aggression as a function of the level of evaluation. That is, following observation of Aggression, there was a devaluation in the Private condition, and an enhancement in the Public condition. In addition, there was a trend in the direction of more positive evaluations in the Private condition ($F_{1,176} = 2.53$, $p < .10$). This was due to unexplained differences following observation of Nonaggression. Table 6 contains the summary of the analysis of variance.

Subjects' mean evaluations of the victim are shown in Figure 1, which illustrates the significant aggression by evaluation interaction. In the Private condition, subjects observing Aggression gave a rating of 91.78, while those observing Nonaggression gave one of 99.42. This difference was significant in the predicted direction ($t_{88} = 2.76$, $p < .005$).

In the Public condition, subjects observing Aggression had a mean total score of 94.69, and subjects observing Nonaggression had a mean total of 90.09. This was a highly significant difference in the predicted direction ($t_{88} = 5.85$, $p < .001$).

Using the data of all 90 subjects assigned to observe Aggression, there was not a significant difference in ratings between subjects evaluating privately and Public ratings ($t_{88} = 1.21$). That is, the Public ratings were not more positive than Private ratings as expected. However, this prediction would only be true of subjects who indicated that the aggression was indeed unjustified. When the data of subjects responding that the aggression was justified were deleted, there was a significant difference between Private and Public ratings in the predicted direction ($t_{72} = 2.31$, $p < .02$). The mean Private rating was 89.46 while the mean Public rating was 97.07. (See Figure 1.)

Table 6

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Victim Evaluation

Source	df	MS	F	p
Aggression (A)	1	104.27		
Evaluation (B)	1	464.01	2.53	.10
A x B	1	1686.67	9.21	.005
Error	176	183.07		

In the Private condition, the victim of the attack was rated lower on 14 out of 15 traits than the nonvictimized parallel person.

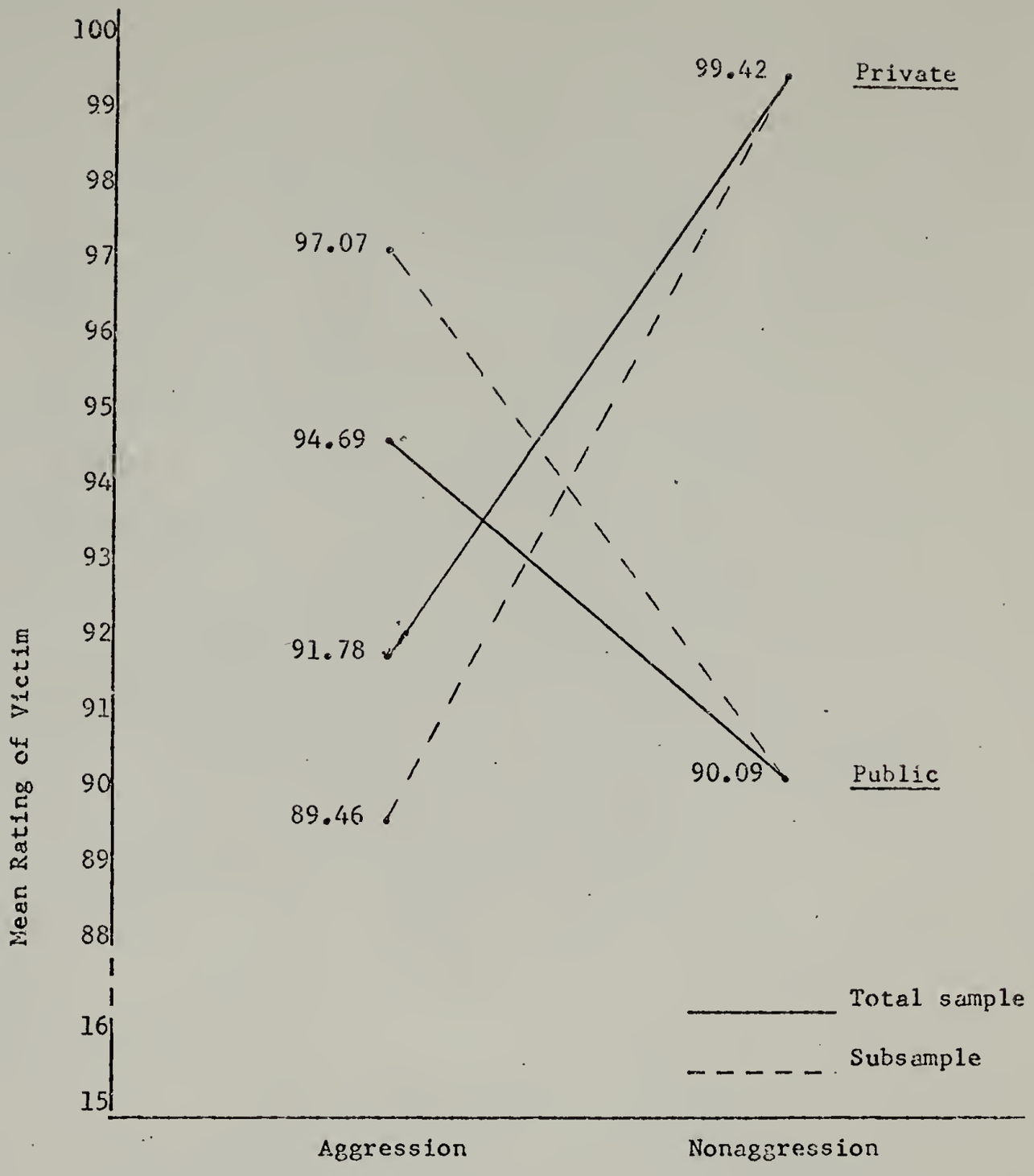

Fig. 1. Mean total victim evaluations as a function of the level of aggression and evaluation for the total sample and for a subsample of subjects perceiving the aggression as highly unjustified.

The converse was found in the Public condition; here the victim was rated higher on 14 out of 15 traits than his corresponding stimulus person.

Thus, Hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported. Subjects devalued a victim when their evaluation would not become known to him; but they enhanced their ratings of the same victim when they believed their evaluation would be made known to the victim.

Devaluation of the Agent

Consider now the ratings of the agent of the aggressive attack (or his nonaggressive peer). Hypothesis 3 predicted that, following observation of Aggression, the agent would be devalued in the Public condition. This prediction was upheld. Subjects observing Aggression had a mean evaluation of 64.18 while subjects who observed the stimulus person as nonaggressive had a mean total of 81.20. Thus, the devaluation of the policeman was highly significant ($t_{88} = 4.21$, $p < .001$). Means for the four experimental conditions are presented in Figure 2.

The observed attacker was rated lower than the parallel person in the Nonaggressive condition on 14 out of 15 traits, and equally on the fifteenth item.

In this 2 x 2 design (aggression x evaluation), variances of the four cells were homogeneous ($F_{max} = 1.42$, $a = 4$, $n = 45$). There was a significant lowering of evaluations following observation of Aggression ($F_{1,176} = 56.40$, $p < .001$). The interaction of aggression and evaluation approached significance ($F_{1,176} = 3.28$, $p < .075$); that is, the agent was devalued more in the Private condition than in the

Public. The analysis of variance is summarized in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Agent Evaluation

Source	df	MS	F	p
Aggression (A)	1	22646.45	56.40	.001
Evaluation (B)	1	312.05		
A x B	1	1317.61	3.28	.075
Error	176	401.53		

Private evaluations were lower following observation of Aggression than following observation of Nonaggression. In addition, the aggressive policeman was rated lower than the nonaggressive agent on all 15 traits.

Hypothesis 3 was supported. Subjects devalued the policeman in the Public condition when they believed the rating would be made known to the agent; but they devalued him even more in the Private condition, when they believed the ratings would not be disclosed.

Evaluations of the Associated Persons

Hypothesis 4 predicted that the evaluation of an associated person would be directly related to that of the corresponding referent person. Considering the two levels of aggression, two levels of evaluation, and three levels of association (Victim, Agent, Nonassociated) as factors, there were no significant differences in ratings except as a function of association. Victim-associated evaluations were more

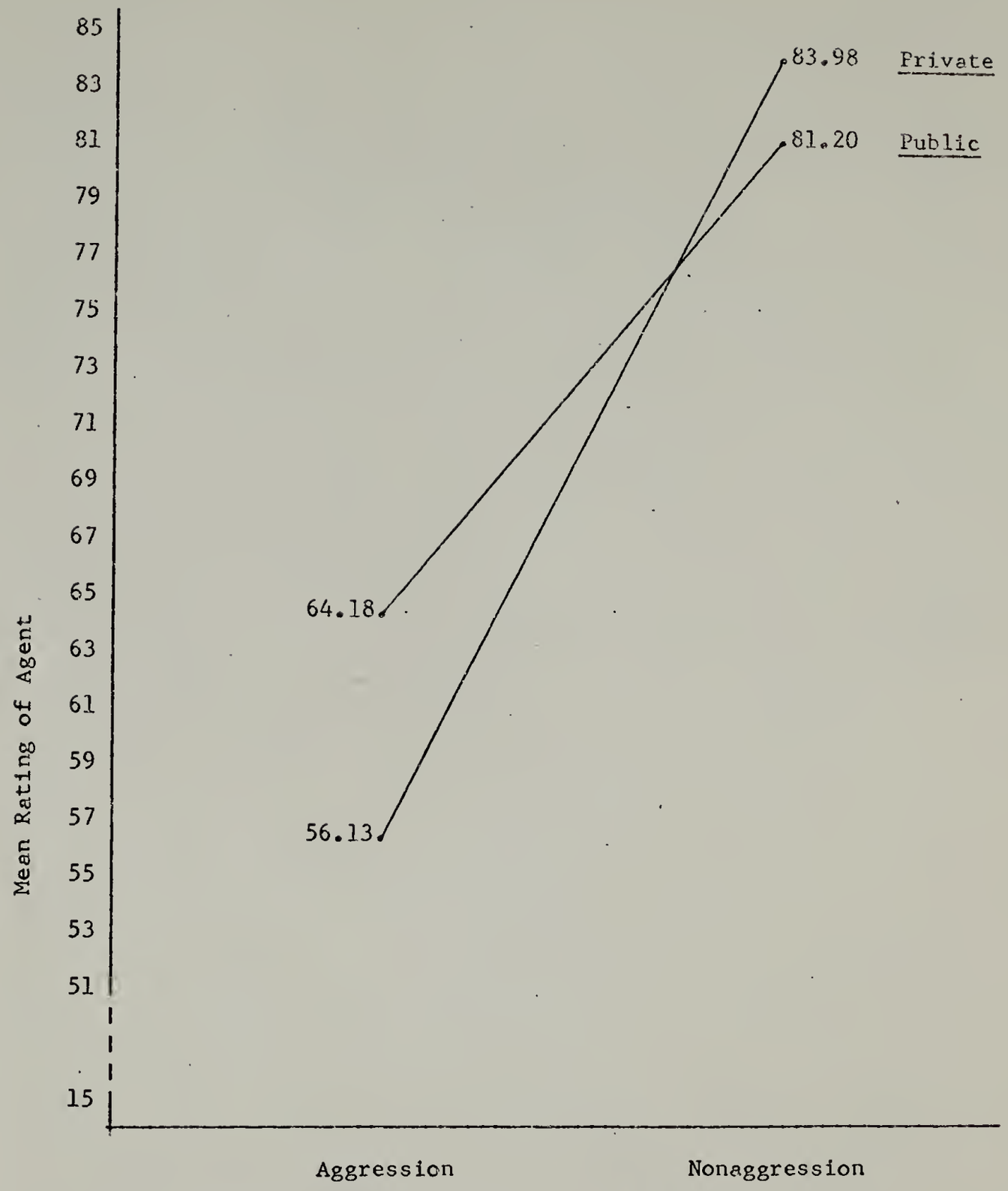

Fig. 2. Mean total agent evaluations as a function of the level of aggression and level of evaluation.

positive than Nonassociated evaluations which were more positive than Agent-associated ratings ($F_{2,168} = 4.55$, $p < .025$). The analysis of variance is summarized in Table 8. It can be seen that no other terms approached significance, indicating that there were no differential effects of observing Aggression as a function of the other two variables. That is, the Victim and Agent-associated ratings did not follow the same directional shifts as the ratings of the referent person; there was no Private Victim-associate devaluation paired with a Public enhancement.

Table 8

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Associated Person Evaluation

Source	df	MS	F	p
Aggression (A)	1	13.88		
Evaluation (B)	1	51.20		
Association (C)	2	729.87	4.55	.025
A x B	1	49.09		
A x C	2	112.44		
B x C	2	49.12		
A x B x C	2	154.44		
Error	168	160.04		

The 12 cell means are given in the last three columns of Table 9. In the cells involving Victim and Agent-associated persons, there was a tendency for responses following Aggression to be more positive than

those following Nonaggression. The Nonassociated condition acted as a control for the effect of observing Aggression on evaluations. The nonassociated fireman was rated lower in the Private condition following observation of Aggression (106.87) than following observation of Nonaggression (114.20).

Table 9

Mean Evaluations of the Victim, Agent, and Associated Persons as a Function of the Level of Aggression and Evaluation

	Observed		Associated		
Condition	Victim	Agent	Victim	Agent	Nonassociate
Private					
Aggression	91.78	56.13	111.53	105.13	106.87
Nonaggression	99.42	83.98	108.49	102.33	114.20
Public					
Aggression	94.69	64.18	110.66	104.33	108.47
Nonaggression	90.09	81.20	109.80	102.53	106.33

Relation between ratings of victim and Victim-associated person. Correlational data for the associated person evaluations are presented in Table 10. Subjects' evaluations of the Victim-associated person in the Private condition were correlated +.57 with those of the observed victim ($p < .025$). Victim-associated ratings were not correlated significantly with evaluations of the observed agent ($r = -.09$).

In the Public condition, subjects' evaluations of the associated person were correlated +.62 with those of the victim ($p < .01$). In addition, there was a significant negative correlation between evaluations of the Victim-associated person and the observed agent ($r = -.50$, $p < .05$). That is, the more the agent was devalued the higher was the rating of the Victim-associated person.

Following observation of Nonaggression, the evaluations of the Victim-associate and the victim were correlated significantly in the Private condition +.48 ($p < .05$), and in the Public condition +.56 ($p < .025$). However, Victim-associate ratings were also correlated with agent evaluations.

Relation between ratings of agent and Agent-associate person. In the Private condition, subjects' evaluations of the Agent-associate and the referent person were not correlated significantly following observation of Aggression ($r = -.28$). In the Public condition, there was a tendency for the two evaluations to be related ($r = .42$, $p < .10$).

Following observation of Nonaggression there was a significant correlation between the Agent-associate and the observed aggressor ratings in both the Private ($r = .79$, $p < .001$) and Public ($r = .66$, $p < .005$) conditions.

Following observation of Nonaggression all ratings tended to be inter-correlated. However, following observation of Aggression, there were significant correlations only between the associated person and the appropriate referent person. (See Table 10.)

Table 10

Correlations of Associated Person Evaluations, Observed Participant Ratings, and Perceived Justification Scores

Condition	Correlation with:		
Level of Association	Victim	Agent	Perceived Justification
Aggressive-Private			
Victim-associate	.57**	-.09	.36*
Agent-associate	-.10	-.28	.14
Nonassociate	-.16	.20	.28
Aggressive-Public			
Victim-associate	.62***	-.50**	.39*
Agent-associate	-.38*	.42*	-.59**
Nonassociate	-.02	.34	-.01
Nonaggressive-Private			
Victim-associate	.48*	.34	--
Agent-associate	.34	.79***	--
Nonassociate	.50**	.39*	--
Nonaggressive-Public			
Victim-associate	.58**	.53**	--
Agent-associate	-.35	.66***	--
Nonassociate	.22	.14	--

*p < .10 **p < .05 ***p < .01

Perceived Justification and Evaluation

Victim. Hypothesis 5 predicted that the less the perceived justification of the aggressive behavior, the more extreme the response would be in the direction necessary to restore justice. In the Private evaluation condition, subjects' perceived justification scores (1 = highly justified, 6 = highly unjustified) and evaluations were not correlated significantly ($r = -.03$, $N = 45$). The mean perceived justification score was 5.02. Public evaluations were correlated with the degree of attributed injustice ($r = .48$, $p < .005$). That is, the less justified the observer perceived the attack to be, the more positively he rated the victim. Mean justification response was 5.20. For the purpose of analysis, subjects were divided into two groups: (a) Those perceiving the attack as highly unjustified (5,6) and (b) those perceiving the aggression as justified or slightly unjustified (1,2,3,4). Private ratings did not differ as a function of justification scores either within the two groups or between them ($t_{43} = 1.28$). Private mean evaluations are presented in Figure 3. Public evaluations were different as a function of justification. Subjects perceiving the attack as highly unjustified evaluated the victim more positively than subjects who perceived the aggression as justified or slightly unjustified. The means for the two groups were 97.08 ($N = 38$) and 81.71 ($N = 7$) respectively ($t_{43} = 2.98$, $p < .005$). (See Figure 3).

Agent evaluation. In the Private condition, subjects' justification of the attack and their ratings of the agent were correlated significantly ($r = -.46$, $N = 45$, $p < .005$). The less justified the attack

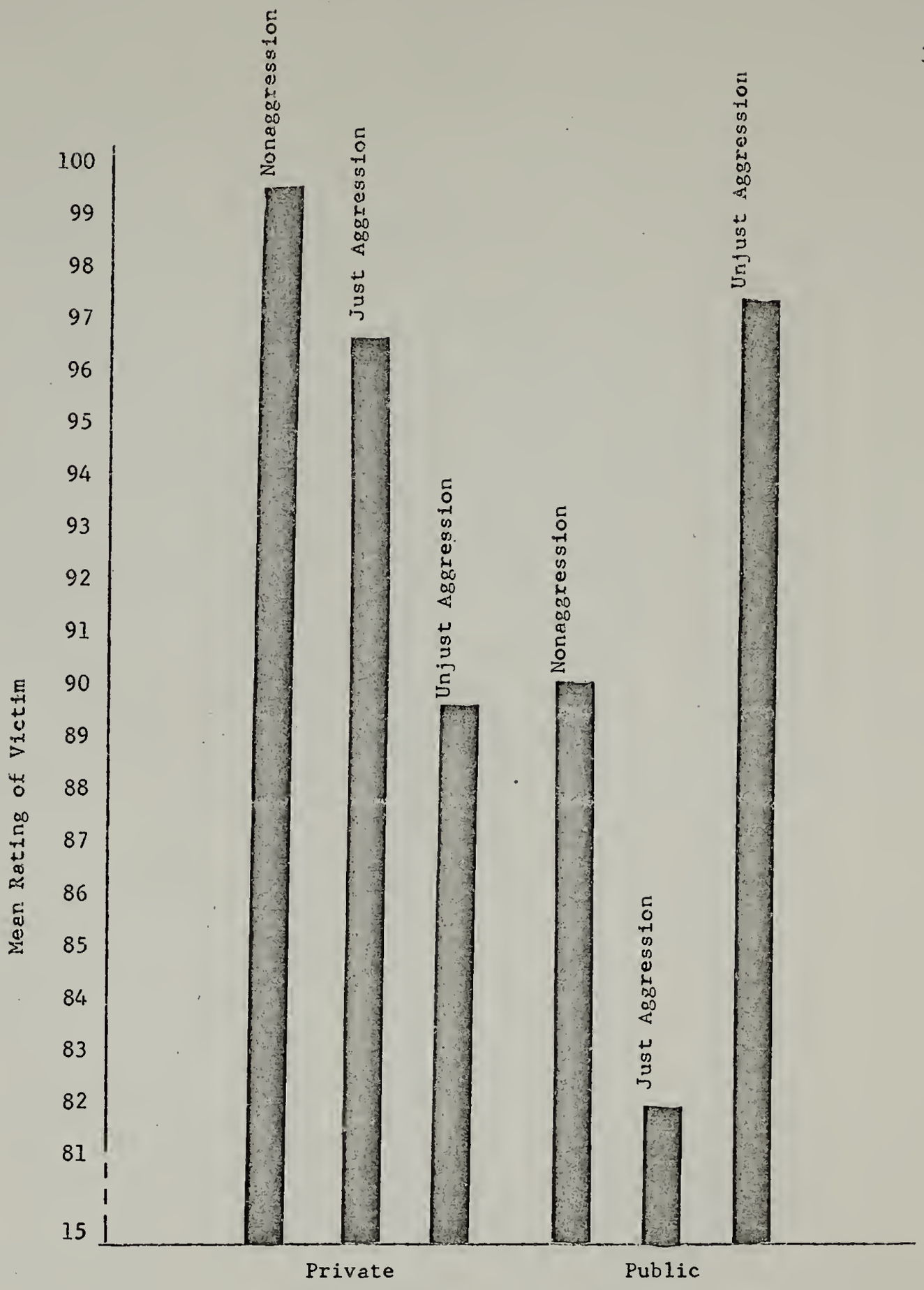

Fig. 3. Mean victim evaluations as a function of level of aggression, evaluation, and perceived justification.

the more negative was the evaluation of the attacker. Subjects were divided in the same manner as for analysis of the victim ratings. The mean evaluation for 36 subjects responding that the aggression was highly unjustified (5,6) was 52.63. The mean scores for nine subjects responding less unjust (1,2,3,4) was 70.11. There were no differences in evaluation scores within the two groups (1 = 2 = 3 = 4 and 5 = 6). However, the ratings of the two groups differed significantly from each other ($t_{43} = 2.61$, $p < .02$).

In the Public condition, where it was predicted that there would be stronger devaluation for observers perceiving the aggressive acts as unjustified, there was a negative correlation between justification scores and the agent ratings ($r = -.57$, $N = 45$, $p < .001$). This indicates that as perceived justification scores increased (became more unjustified) evaluation scores decreased. The mean rating of 38 subjects perceiving the behavior as highly unjust was 60.39, and for seven observers perceiving the aggression as justified or slightly unjustified--84.71. There were no differences in ratings within the two groups, but there was a highly significant difference between them ($t_{43} = 3.28$, $p < .005$). Mean ratings are shown in Figure 4.

Associated person. Victim-associated evaluations in the Private condition and perceived justification scores were correlated +.36 ($N = 15$, $p < .10$). In the Public condition, ratings and justification responses were correlated +.39 ($p < .10$). The more unjustified the aggression, the more positive was the rating of the Victim-associate in either evaluation condition. (See Table 10.)

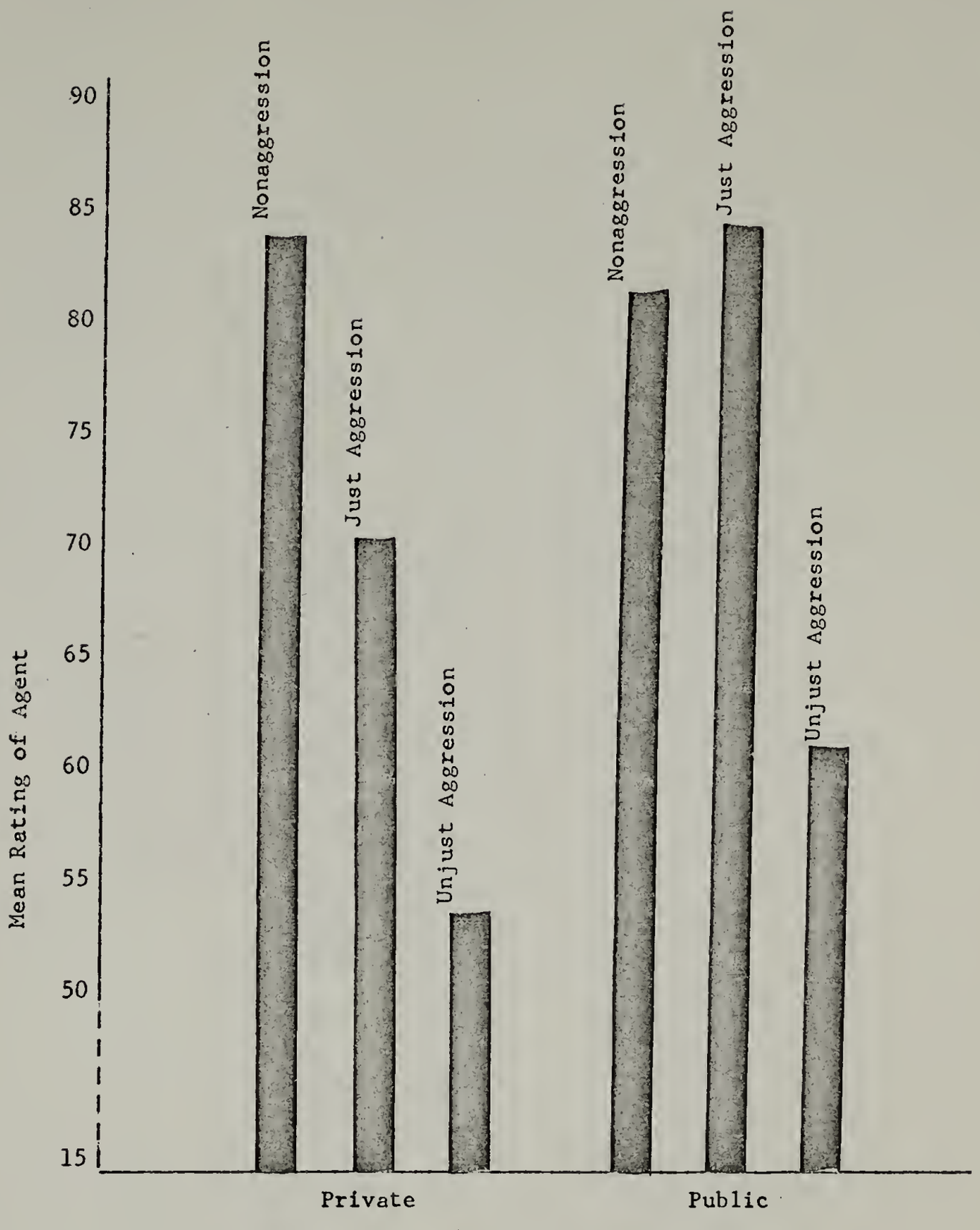

Fig. 4. Mean agent ratings as a function of level of aggression, evaluation, and perceived justification.

Agent-associated ratings and perceived justification responses were not correlated significantly in the Private condition ($r = .14$, $N = 15$). Public ratings were correlated with justification scores ($r = -.59$, $p < .025$). That is, the less the justification, the lower was the rating of the associated policeman.

Nonassociated ratings and justification scores were not significantly correlated. (In the Private condition $r = .28$; Public condition $r = -.01$).

Hypothesis 5 was partially supported. All victim ratings except those by respondents in the Private-Aggression condition were more extreme in the predicted direction for subjects perceiving the attack as highly unjustified. Associated person ratings were shown to be directly related to the degree of justification.

Effect of Order

Further analyses were conducted to investigate possible differences between evaluations based upon the order of responding to the two rating scales. More extreme responses should have occurred following observation of Aggression when the evaluation was made first than when it was made second, since the initial response was made while the degree of perceived injustice was at its peak. Second ratings were made after the initial response would have reduced the absolute amount of injustice (if injustice had indeed occurred).

Victim ratings. Scoring first evaluations as "one" and second evaluations as "two", the order of presentation was not significantly correlated with the evaluation of the victim in the Private condition ($r = .06$, $N = 45$). The corresponding correlation in the Public

condition was -.38 ($p < .01$); that is first ratings tended to be more positive than second ratings.

In order to test differences in ratings as a function of the order of presentation, an analysis of variance with 18 subjects in each cell comprised of the levels of aggression, evaluation, and order was conducted. This analysis indicated that ratings made first were more positive than those given second ($F_{1,136} = 5.81$, $p < .025$). The interaction of order and evaluation was significant ($F_{1,136} = 3.60$, $p < .05$). That is, there was a greater difference due to order for Public evaluations than for Private ratings. There were no other significant differences as a function of an interaction involving order. The analysis of variance is presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Victim Ratings as a Function of Order of Presentation, Aggression, and Evaluation

Source	df	MS	F	p
Order (A)	1	1133.44	5.81	.025
Aggression (B)	1	164.69		
Evaluation (C)	1	434.02	2.23	
A x B	1	42.35		
A x C	1	702.25	3.60	.05
B x C	1	1393.78	7.49	.01
A x B x C	1	277.78	1.42	
Error	136	194.95		

When scores from all 90 subjects in the Private and Public conditions were examined, there was a significant difference between ratings given first and those given second. In the Private condition, subjects who evaluated the victim after having rated the attacker, devalued the victim less than those who rated the victim first ($F_{1,136} = 5.38$, $p < .025$). A simple effects test considering all 90 subjects who gave Public ratings found that first ratings of the victim tended to be more positive than second ratings; there was greater enhancement ($F_{1,136} = 2.99$, $p < .10$). Cell means are presented in Figure 5.

Agent ratings. Considering the agent ratings, order of presentation and evaluations were not related in either the Private or the Public conditions following observation of Aggression (Private = +.18, Public = -.09). Neither were there any significant correlations following observation of Nonaggression.

Using the data from 144 subjects, randomly chosen from the total sample, there was a tendency for greater devaluation for Public ratings made after the victim evaluation, but greater devaluation in the Private condition for first responses ($F_{1,136} = 2.87$, $p < .10$). The analysis of variance is summarized in Table 12.

In the Private condition, a simple effects test on the magnitude of the devaluation as a function of order indicated greater devaluation for first responses ($F_{1,136} = 16.53$, $p < .001$). There were no significant differences due to order for Public Ratings ($F_{1,136} < 1$). Cell means are given in Figure 6.

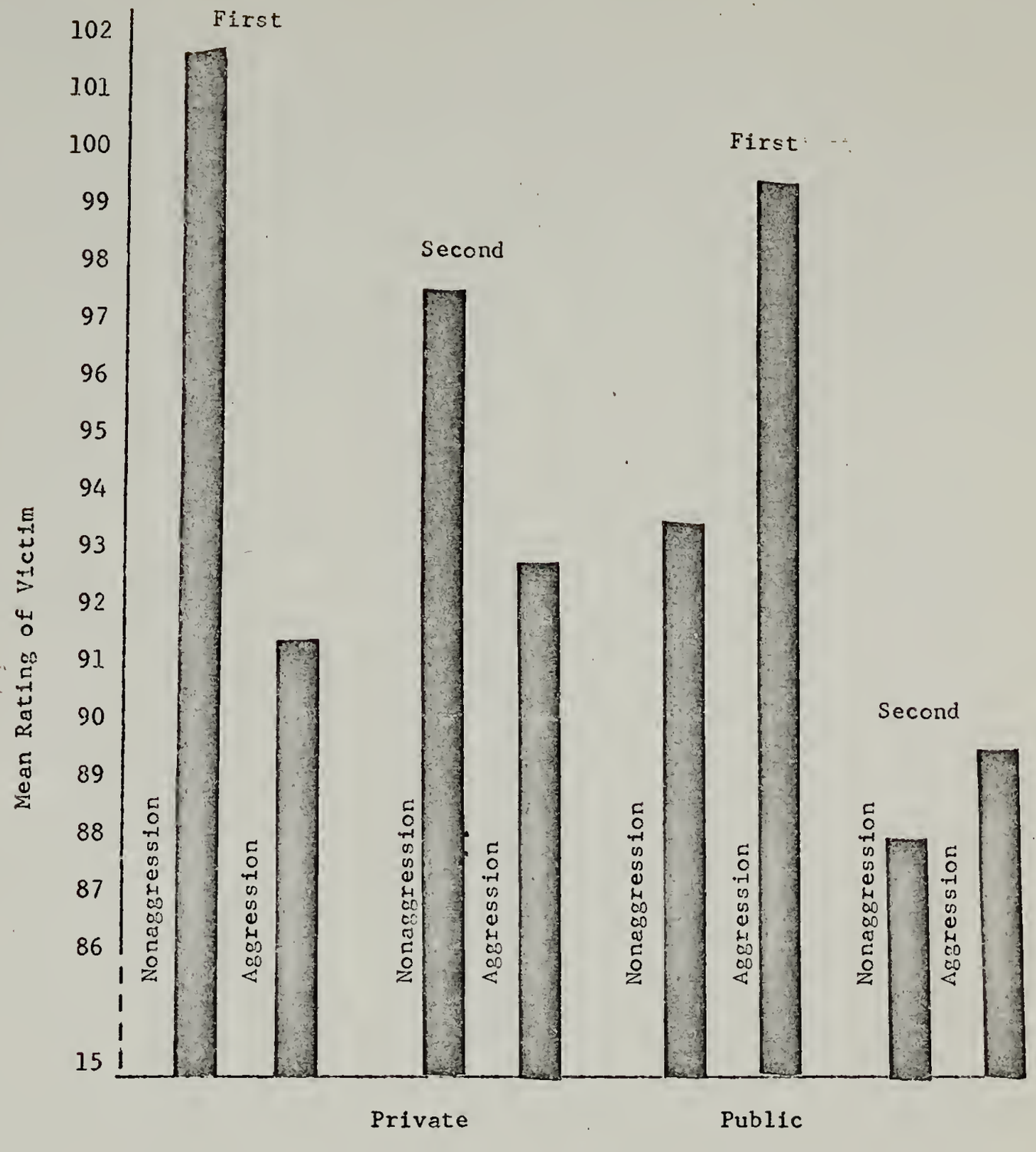

Fig. 5. Victim evaluations as a function of aggression, evaluation, and order of presentation.

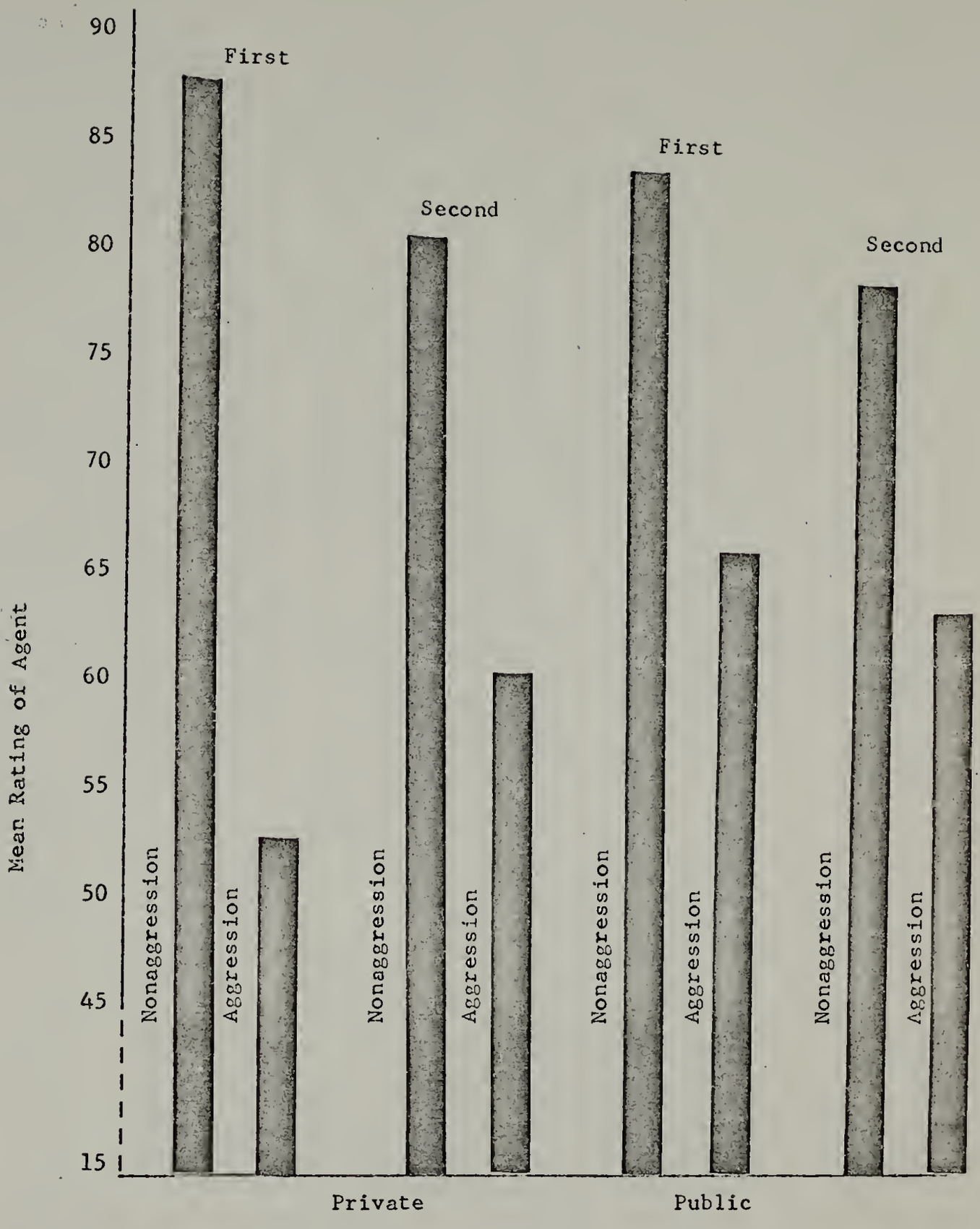

Fig. 6. Agent evaluations as a function of aggression, evaluation, and order of presentation.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

It was suggested that the observation of an unjust aggressive relationship is unpleasant and produces tension in the observer. This tension may be reduced by making either a behavioral or a belief adjustment. Behavioral adjustments, or appropriate compensation or retaliation, would be likely if the observer believes that he has an opportunity to alter the outcomes of the participants. Belief adjustments, or perceived input reinterpretation, would be made if one has no possible influence over the observed parties' outcomes. Any such adjustments would attempt to equalize the input/outcome ratios between the interacting parties.

As predicted, subjects in the present experiment tended to devalue the Negro victim of an unjust aggressive act, if they believed their evaluation could have no further effect on him (the Private evaluation condition); but they tended to enhance their evaluation of the same victimized person if they felt he would later be informed of the ratings (Public condition). The attacking agent (the policeman) was devalued by subjects, regardless of whether their evaluations were given privately or publicly. However it was not predicted that subjects would privately devalue the agent, which according to the model of perceived injustice is not tension reducing. The data partially supported the prediction

that "associated persons" (i.e., other Negroes presumably associated with the victim, or other policemen associated with the attacking policeman) would receive evaluations directly related to those given the primary referent person.

Devaluation of a Victim

The prediction that subjects would devalue a suffering victim when the rating would not be made known to him was supported. This devaluation of the victim was most evident when compared with the ratings of the nonvictimized civil rights worker. However, following observation of Aggression, Private ratings of subjects who indicated that the aggressive attack was unjust were significantly lower than Public ratings of corresponding subjects. The victimized civil rights worker was rated lower on all traits except for the trait "easygoing-bossy"; even "easygoing" might be interpreted as a negative characteristic, one which conforms to the Negro stereotype.

A Private devaluation is a form of a belief adjustment. Unable to interfere directly, a subject would attempt to "justify" the observed aggression by cognitively lowering the inherent inputs of the victim. Private devaluation would be consistent with the findings of Lerner and Simmons (1966) in which subjects severely devalued an altruistic victim.

Although the degree of devaluation was highly significant, the mean rating of even the devalued victim remained relatively positive. This may be indicative of an anchoring problem specific to the evaluative scales; such as a failure to stress ratings other than the extremes in the instructions. Or it may be that a suffering victim is seen to deserve

his fate and still be considered a "positive" person. In the present study, the victim's suffering occurred prior to the time it was observed. Lerner and Simmons found that subjects devalued the victim less when they believed that the suffering had already ended than when it was still occurring. Thus, the degree of devaluation in the present experiment possibly was limited by the occurrence of the suffering prior to the actual observation.

The degree of devaluation also may have been limited because observers rated the stimulus person after having indicated their perceived justification of the aggression. This indication may have been a form of commitment to the belief that "if the aggression was unjustified than the victim was a good person," which also would tend to minimize the devaluation.

Enhancement of a Victim

The prediction that observers would enhance the victim when the evaluation would be made known to him was supported. An evaluation which is available to the stimulus person may function as a behavioral adjustment. That is, a positive rating may appear to serve the function of compensation to a suffering victim. A negative evaluation under these circumstances would justify the attack on the victim for the responding subjects, but it would also serve to increase the amount of the victim's suffering. It appears that when the respective costs to the subject of the two responses are equal, a compassionate response (compensation) is preferable to justification of the attack in the form of devaluation.

It has been shown by several investigators (Walster & Prestholdt, 1966; Berscheid & Walster, 1967) that a harmdoer tends to compensate the person he has harmed. Giving compensation would reduce subjects' experienced injustice, as would a belief that the suffering was deserved. Observers of unjust aggression also experience tension resulting from the perceived injustice (Lerner & Simmons, 1966). When the opportunity to reduce this injustice is available in the form of a compensatory evaluation, this serves a double purpose: to compensate the victim by raising his outcomes, and to enable the rater to refrain from adding "insult to injury" via a negative evaluation.

Berscheid, Walster, and Barclay (1968) have shown that the more adequate a compensation appears to be, the greater the probability that a harmdoer will choose to compensate the person whom he made suffer. Perhaps the same is true for observed aggression. In the present study, compensation in the form of evaluation may not have been perceived as very adequate, but it was all that was available to subjects at the time. Thus, the degree of enhancement may have been limited by the subjects' perceived adequacy (or inadequacy) of the compensation.

A surprising finding in the present study was that the nonvictimized civil rights worker was rated lower in the Public condition than in the Private condiotion. It might be expected that observers sympathetic towards civil rights workers would give more positive ratings when the evaluation was available to the Negro than when not available. However, the opposite tendency occurred. It may be that "association" with the hypothetical commission, as was suggested by the availability of the ratings,

had negative connotations. However, if occurring, this would have been true for the publicly rated suffering victim as well and thus would not have affected the degree of enhancement due to observing aggressive interaction.

Devaluation of an Attacker

The prediction that subjects would publicly devalue the agent following observation of an unjust attack was supported. Observers attempted to lower the outcomes of the observed attacker by negatively evaluating him. Thus, the suggested interaction model of perceived injustice was valid for Public ratings. When behavior adjustments were available, subjects attempted both to raise the outcomes of the victim and to lower the outcomes of the attacker, tending to equalize the input/outcome ratios. However, by negatively rating the aggressor in order to lower his outcomes, subjects of necessity recognized that his inherent inputs were low; and by raising the outcomes of the victim, also raise the sufferer's perceived inputs. However, this response may have produced a more pleasant state for the observer than previously existed.

Ratings of Associated Persons

The prediction that ratings of associated persons would vary directly with the ratings of the referent person was only partially supported. Victim-associated evaluations were significantly correlated with those of the observed referent person, but Agent-associated evaluations were not related consistently to those of the attacker. The ratings of the Nonassociated person, which served as control data for the effect of observing an unjust attack, were not related to either the victim or agent ratings.

Subjects who observed Nonaggression gave ratings of the associated person and the observed participants which were all inter-correlated. This indicates that when there is no perceived injustice, associated person ratings are not especially related to the referent person evaluations. However, following the observation of Aggression; associated ratings are specifically related only to the appropriate referent person evaluation.

The devaluation which occurred for the Private victim ratings was not evident for victim-associated evaluations. In fact, ratings of both the Negro fireman and the white policeman were more positive following observation of Aggression than after observation of Nonaggression, but the opposite was true for the ratings of the Nonassociated fireman. Thus, the slight tendency to enhance the persons associated with observed participants following observation of unjust attack appears atronger in view of the devaluation of the Nonassociated person.

Observers' enhanced evaluations of the associated policeman after witnessing the attack may be the result of a positive contrast. That is, after viewing a highly aggressive policeman, a second policeman who is described as peaceful is by comparison perceived even more positively.

Berkowitz and Geen (1966) found that observing aggression tends to increase the probability that the observer will aggress against others who he associates with the violent behavior. It does not appear that there was a parallel tendency to rate negatively persons associated with observed aggression. However, the stimulus material used by Berkowitz and Geen portrayed justified aggression, and comparisons should be made with care.

The tendency of student subjects to evaluate the Victim-associate (Negro) more positively than the Agent-associate (policeman) in all experimental conditions was not surprising, in light of campus suspicions about police and general sympathy for the plight of Negroes.

Effect of Justification

The prediction that perceived justification would influence the ratings was supported. The less that a subject perceived the attack to be justified, the more extreme was his response in whatever direction that tended to restore justice. In the Private condition, ratings of the Negro victim did not differ as a function of perceived justification. However, this was not an unexpected finding. Subjects perceiving the victim as deserving of his fate should have negative feelings about him. Since subjects perceiving the aggression as unjustified devalued the victim, the ratings were similar. It is also feasible that "justified" responses were made as an attempt to alleviate tension by refusing to recognize the injustice rather than deal with it after recognition. This is a form of behavioral input distortion.

In the Public condition, subjects who perceived the aggressive attack as justified devalued rather than enhanced the victim. Since these subjects felt the suffering was deserved there was no perceived injustice and resulting tension. Again, a response of "justified" may have been a mechanism to reduce tension by denial rather than by distortion of evaluation.

Agent evaluations also were affected by subjects' perceived justification. In the Public condition, there was greater devaluation

by observers perceiving the attack as unjust, as was true for ratings made privately. It appears that being aggressive is not alone sufficient to elicit strong devaluation; one must also be perceived as inhumane.

There was a tendency for the positivity of the Victim-associated evaluation to be directly related to the amount of perceived injustice in both the Private and Public conditions. The opposite was true of the attacker-associated evaluations in the Public condition. In this case, the greater the perceived injustice the lower the rating of the associated policeman. It appears that the more blatantly unjust a violent attack is perceived to be, the more one is willing to condemn persons who share the same characteristics as the attacker. However, this finding may be particularly relevant to evaluations of police who are more likely to receive harsh criticism.

Additional Findings

The model of perceived injustice predicts that the belief adjustments concerning the attacking policeman should be in the positive direction to restore justice unless this is too costly for the respondent. It appears that the "cost of enhancement" may have been too high since observers privately devalued the attacker. It may be necessary to use a more neutral attacker in order to fully test the adequacy of the model since police are not positively viewed even when acting nonaggressively by many college students. In the present study, there was greater devaluation of the policeman during Private than during Public evaluations. This finding is inconsistent with the suggested model. Perhaps, since justice could not be restored without the subjects violating strong beliefs that

he held and subjects chose to tolerate perceiving the injustice as such, then responding inappropriately (in relation to restoring justice) did not increase the existing tension. That tension was not increased is substantiated by the fact that observers who privately evaluated the victim first devalued the victim more than those who rated the suffering victim after rating the attacker. If devaluing the agent (when enhancing him tended to restore justice) increased the amount of tension, then the evaluations of latter rated victims should have been lower than those of victims evaluated first.

It may be that privately devaluing the police officer acted to reduce tension, especially since subjects may not have perceived the Private evaluations as totally private; knowing that the experimenter would read them and become aware of their feelings toward the attacker.

Data indicated that evaluations of the attacked civil rights worker made first deviated more from the Nonaggression ratings in the predicted direction, than ratings made after the agent was evaluated. This finding is consistent with the model of perceived injustice. The subject's first response should serve most to reduce the absolute amount of perceived injustice. Private ratings of the attacker also were more negative for first responses than for second responses; as above it may be argued; after subjects have devalued the victim, they have less need further to strongly devalue the agent, since the attack then had been justified partially. The more extreme Public devaluation of the attacker for second responses may have been due to the fact that if a subject enhanced the victimized person (which was justice restoring) the attack may have

then been perceived as even more unjustifed and a stronger devaluation of the attacker would have occurred.

Limitations of Present Research

Data from a pretest indicated that subjects were not resistant to evaluating negatively a Negro who was described by the experimenter negatively. It is not clear whether there is reluctance to negatively rate a positively described Negro; that is, devalue a positive Negro. If this reluctance is operating then the degree of devaluation obtained in the present study may not be indicative of reactions to more neutral victims. In general, attitudes towards Negroes are difficult to accurately assess because of conflicting social pressures. One should exhibit caution when interpreting the present results so as not to assume that the findings are obtainable under less emotionally involving circumstances.

Further studies in the area of aggression observation should vary the sex of the subjects. This is particularly important when investigating compensation toward suffering victims. In the present study, males tended to enhance the victim to a greater degree than females, but the failure to identify the sex of all subjects should not be overlooked. It may be that there are differential reactions to victims of different sex dependent upon the sex of the observer.

There was no experimental validation of the success of the Private-Public manipulation. However, differences in Private versus Public ratings cannot conceivably be attributed to any factor other than their particular manipulation. However, the magnitude of the differences may have been minimized by the failure of some subjects to be aware of the manipulation.

One should also consider that there may be a reluctance to publicly tell another person that he is not highly regarded. This may be a factor contributing to the higher victim and agent evaluations following the observation of Aggression in the Public condition compared to Private ratings. However, this does not appear to be a crucial factor in view of lower Public evaluations of the civil rights worker by subjects observing Nonaggression, and the lack of an evaluation main effect for agent ratings.

Implications

Violent interaction may not be the only observed relationship that is capable of eliciting tension resulting from perceiving injustice. It may be that the perception of social injustices other than aggression are tension producing. An individual may be perceived as experiencing unwarranted social injustice while the party he is interacting with experiences unwarranted benefits. Such might be the case when one is made aware of a grievance between a wealthy ghetto landlord and his poor tenant. Assuming that the observer does not completely ignore the relationship, the easiest response to make is that the tenant deserves to live in squalor. However, if one is willing to establish a line of contact with the "victim" (or willing to make use of an existing mechanism), there may be a more compassionate response in the form of compensation or an attempt to raise the sufferer's outcomes. Opportunity for compensation appears to be crucial if one hopes to elicit compassionate responses toward suffering persons. It may be that persons willing to establish contact with observed suffering persons are those that are most distraught by perceiving injustice and not content with "justifying" the observed suffering.

One is likely to observe violent behavior on a regular basis, either directly or indirectly as long as violence is common in society. It appears that if these exchanges are perceived as unjust, the opinions of both parties become less positive without available means to make compensatory responses to the victimized party. It may not be crucial that the observer retaliates, or is able to retaliate against the attacker, in order to be compassionate toward the victim.

It appears that the highest probability of devaluing an observed victim occurs when (1) the suffering is the result of altruistic motives, (2) the suffering is observed directly while ongoing, and (3) the respondent believes his rating has no further effect on the victimized person. The probability of devaluation is reduced by the belief that the suffering has ended or that the victim has been compensated. Negative evaluations may be replaced by positive ratings when the opportunity for compensation in the form of positive evaluations is available.

The "just world" hypothesis (Lerner, 1966) may require some qualification. Public enhancement of an observed victim may be an admission by the observer that the world itself is not necessarily just, since an individual is admittedly receiving unwarranted suffering. However, the respondent may feel that he himself is a just person since he chose to react compassionately toward the sufferer. It may be more crucial to an individual that he is just than to perceive his surrounding environment as a just one.

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APPENDIX A

Aggression Communication

"The photographic slides that you are going to see shortly are taken from an investigation of police behavior. The slides provide evidence that police officials at times are violent without proper reason. Our commission has gathered hundreds of photographs and case histories, some of which will be presented to you. The policemen in these photographs represent local, county, and state law enforcement agencies. These agencies are from various parts of the country. When we say that police officials are unnecessarily violent at times, we mean that the individual the police have attacked has done nothing to warrant such treatment. As we progress we will describe several of the slides in more detail. The police actions were for the most part directed against peaceful protesters, civil rights demonstrators, and ordinary citizens. In the photographs which you will see, the police acted in a manner that was inconsistent with proper law enforcement."

Every fourth slide depicting aggressive behavior was described in a manner that tended to insure that the action was perceived as unjustified.

Slide #1. "Case #16. Following a protest designed to call attention to the poor school conditions in several Trenton, New Jersey schools, several arrests were made. Although the participating protesters offered no resistance to arrest, two individuals, one pictured here were forcibly taken into custody. The man arrested was a parent of four children attending the school in question."

Slide #5. "Case #37. While attempting to register to vote in a southern Mississippi local election, this individual was asked to return the next day in order to be tested for literacy. The individual, a college graduate, refused and was brutally taken away by police who were in attendence."

Slide #9. "Case #103. The 13 year old boy shown here was playing baseball with several of his friends in a privately owned vacant lot. Without any request made to the boys to leave, the owner called the police to remove the youngsters. The boy pictured here received a severely sprained wrist as a result of the forced removal."

Slide #13. "Case #124. During the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D. C., participants claimed that they were often randomly singled out for abuse if they left their campsites. This photograph demonstrates a startling example of one individual who was doing some sight-seeing. When he was asked to return to the camp, he refused and this action resulted."

Slide #17. "Case #140. At a predominantly white college in North Carolina, Negro students picketted the administration building. They asked for the hiring of the first and only Negro faculty member at the school. Police were ordered in to disperse the small group of students."

Slide #21. "Case #156. August, 1968. Many examples of violent behavior occurred at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. This particular incident involved a resident of the area who was on his way home from work. The man is 31 years old and worked in a grocery near his home. He was

not associated with the convention."

Nonaggression Communication

"The photographic slides that you are going to see shortly are taken from an investigation of behavior toward strsngers. This investigation was concerned with how people publicly behaved toward the persons that you will see in the slides. The commission has gathered hundreds of photographs and case histories, some of which will be presented to you. The individuals in these photographs came from small towns, medium size cities, and large cities. We were especially interested in the differences between behavior in people from different size communities. The communities were from various parts of the country. As we progress we will describe several of the slides in more detail."

Slide #1. "Case #16. The people standing peacefully here had gathered to make known their dissaproval of school conditions in several Trenton, New Jersey schools. These men all had young children attending the schools in question."

Slide #5. "Case #37. This individual was photographed while registering to vote on his twenty-first birthday in a southern Mississippi local election. He is a college graduate and he is not married."

Slide #9. "Case #103. This scene portrays several office workers on their way to work in Cleveland, Ohio. The man without glasses facing the camera, is an insurance salesman for one of the large national companies. He is 47 years old, married, and has three boys."

Slide #13. "Case #156. Every year Phoenix, Arizona sponsers a large parade signalling the beginning of the International Rodeo. This man was photographed while riding in a precision equestrian team. He lives in the outskirts of Phoenix, and he is a mathematics teacher in the local high school."

The slide which was displayed for evaluation of the portrayed stimulus persons in all experimental conditions was described as follows:

"The young man in this picture is 23 years old. He is married and has no children. He is a graduate of Jefferson High School in Louisville, Kentucky. He is currently employed as a salesman in an automobile dealership. At the time this picture was taken, he was involved in a peaceful demonstration to call attention to poor city maintenance in certain areas of the city.

The police officer is thirty years old. He is married and has one child. He has been with the force for nine years. When this photograph was taken, he was the officer in charge of a detail of police."

APPENDIX B

RECALL TEST ONE

The following questions are related to the slides you have just seen and the recording you have just heard. Answer the questions as accurately as you can.

1. How many slides were presented? _____

2. What was the Commission investigating? _____

_____

*3. How justified were the police actions?

!_____!_____!_____!_____!_____!_____!
Totally Justified — Totally Unjustified

4. What was the length of exposure for each slide?

!_____!_____!_____!_____!
5 seconds 10 seconds 15 seconds 20 seconds

5. Describe the first slide presented. _____

_____

*6. What per cent of the people attacked were Negroes?

15%_____ 40%_____ 75%_____ 90%_____ 100%_____

7. Where did Case #140 occur? _____

8. How old was the individual in Case #37? _____

PLEASE CLOSE YOUR BOOKLETS

*This question was deleted following observation of Nonaggression.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR RELEVANT TASKS 1 & 1A

On the next two pages there will be two identical sets of scales. Each end of the scale is defined by one of a pair of adjectives which are opposites, e.g., good-bad; tall-short. Here is how you are to use the scales. If you feel that the person listed at the top of the page is very closely described by one end of the scale, you should place a check in one of the nine blanks as follows:

short __X__:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____: tall

OR

short ____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:__X__: tall

If you feel that the person listed at the top of the page is quite closely described by one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place the check as follows:

short ____:__X__:____:____:____:____:____:____:____: tall

OR

short ____:____:____:____:____:____:____:__X__:____: tall

The direction toward which you check depends upon which end of the scale seems most characteristic of the person you are judging, and you are free to check any blank that you think best describes the person.

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

IMPORTANT

The tasks on the following pages are a means to insure your attention during the necessary intervening time. However, it is important to work carefully in order for us to have an accurate measure of memory loss due to intervening tasks.

TURN THE PAGE WHEN THE NEXT SLIDE IS PRESENTED

IMPORTANT

The tasks on the following pages serve a dual purpose. They are a means to insure your attention during the necessary intervening time. However, it is important to work carefully in order for us to have an accurate measure of memory loss due to intervening tasks. In addition, we have agreed with the Commission for the Investigation of Public Behavior to report our subjects opinions to them. The Commission will make this information available to the people involved in the slides you have seen. Your response will remain anonymous.

TURN THE PAGE WHEN THE NEXT SLIDE IS PRESENTED

RELEVANT TASK 1

This scale refers to the POLICEMAN in the slide you are now observing. Answer as carefully as you can within the limits of your knowledge. Check in one of the nine blocks for each pair of adjectives.

intelligent	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	unintelligent
likeable	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	unlikeable
uncooperative	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	cooperative
bossy	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	easy-going
imaginative	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	unimaginative
immature	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	mature
irresponsible	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	responsible
nervous	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	calm
patient	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	impatient
reasonable	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	unreasonable
rigid	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	flexible
courteous	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	rude
selfish	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	unselfish
warm	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	cold
sincere	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___	insincere

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

RELEVANT TASK 1A

This scale refers to the NEGRO in the slide you are now observing. Answer as carefully as you can within the limits of your knowledge. Check in one of the nine blanks for each pair of adjectives.

intelligent	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unintelligent
likeable	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unlikeable
uncooperative	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	cooperative
bossy	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	easy-going
imaginative	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unimaginative
immature	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	mature
irresponsible	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	responsible
nervous	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	calm
patient	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	impatient
reasonable	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unreasonable
rigid	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	flexible
courteous	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	rude
selfish	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unselfish
warm	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	cold
sincere	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	insincere

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

IRRELEVANT TASK 1

Please add the following columns of numbers. Work quickly but carefully. Accuracy of solution will be used as a measure of concentration on the task.

3647		
6398		
2834		
9401		
8823		864
6513		306
		922
		721
		629
		540
		825
		663
	872596	
	621438	
	535294	

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

IRRELEVANT TASK 2

Please multiply the following figures. Accuracy of solution will be used as a measure of concentration on the task. Work quickly but carefully.

361
x 212

304
x 552

15674
x 24002

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

IRRELEVANT TASK 3

The following pages contain a transcript of an interview conducted by one of the assistants working on the memory project. Your task is to read this interview carefully and to try to remember what you can about the person. The entire interview is not given. Only the first portion is presented below, but it is long enough to function as an intervening task. Read carefully. You will again be asked to state which end of a scale best describes the person. This is similar to an earlier task, however, unlike the first this task is unrelated to the initial material.

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

IRRELEVANT TASK 3

The following pages contain a transcript of an interview conducted by one of the assisstants working on the memory project. Your task is to read this interview carefully and to try to remember what you can about the person. The entire interview is not given. Only the first portion is presented below, but it is long enough to function as as intervening task. Read carefully. You will again be asked to state which end of a scale best describes the person. This is similar to an earlier task, however, unlike the first this task is unrelated to the initial material. We will forward your responses related to the interview to the person who was interviewed as a courtesy to him. Your responses will remain anonymous.

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Assistant: Hello, will you please come in and sit down over here by the microphone. My name is Roger M_____. As you know I'll be conducting this interview with the purpose of using it in a later psychological experiment at the University of Massachusetts. This study will involve memory and memory loss. Students will read this interview and answer questions about it. I will ask you several questions about yourself, some general and some more personal. You don't have to answer anything that you don't want to answer, but if you choose to answer please be truthful. Are there any questions before we begin?

Interviewee: No, I'm ready to start.

Assist: OK. We should start by your telling me who you are.

Interviewee: All right. My name is Richard S_____.

Assist: How old are you Richard?

Richard: I'll be twenty-eight next month.

Assist: Where do you live?

Richard: 387 L_____ Street, in Holyoke.

Assist: How long have you lived there?

Richard: Oh, we bought the house on L_____ Street about four years ago. But I've lived in Holyoke all my life.

Assist: Are you married or single?

Richard: I'm married.

Assist: How long have you been married?

Richard: Just a little over six years.

Assist: Do you have any children?

Richard: Yes, two. A boy four, and a daughter one.

Assist: Would you please tell me a little about your family background?

Richard: Well, I grew up here and went to school here. My father works for the Post Office. He's been working there about 25 years. My mother used to teach grade school, but she retired after we all grew up and moved out on our own.

Assist: Do you come from a large family?

Richard: I have an older brother and sister and a younger brother.

Assist: Are you close? Uh, how often do you see them?

Richard: Well, Jim, my younger brother, lives in town. I see him quite often. The others I see about once or twice a month, maybe a little less.

Assist: What do you do for a living?

* Richard: I'm a policeman for the city of Holyoke.

** Richard: I'm a fireman for the city of Holyoke.

Assist: How long have you held your job?

Richard: Let's see. I started working for the department three and a half years ago.

Assist: Do you intend to make a career out of it?

* Richard: Ya, I think I will. Most of the time its enjoyable work, and the benefits are good.

** Richard: Ya, I think I will. Most of the time its enjoyable work, and the benefits are good. Also, being Negro I can't help but worry a little about discrimination. The department overall has been a good place to work..... They've been fair.

Assist: Tell me a little about any hobbies you might have.

Richard: Let's see. I do a little fishing when I have the time. You know, on weekends and when I'm on my vacation. Uh, in the Summer the department fields a softball team in the city league and I get a chance to play some ball. It helps to keep me in shape and we have a pretty good time..... I guess that's about it. I don't have time for much else.

Assist: Do you belong to any organizations or "lodges"?

* Richard: Ya, I'm treasurer of the local Police Athletic League. You know, we try to help the kids learn how to play ball. We raise some money and buy them uniforms and equipment. It's a lot of fun watching them improve from game to game.

* Agent-associated cue.

** Victim-associated cue which was deleted for Nonassociated transcript.

Richard: Ya, I help out in an athletic league run by the department for kids. You know, we try to help them learn how to play ball. We raise some money and buy them uniforms and equipment. It's a lot of fun watching them improve from
** game to game. I'm also Treasurer of the local NAACP.

Assist: Good. Just a few more general questions and then we'll go on to more personal ones. All right?

Richard: Go ahead.

Assist: What sport do you enjoy the most?

Richard: That's hard to say.....I guess pro football.

Assist: Do you enjoy reading?

Richard: Yes, I'd say so. I don't have too much time but I enjoy science fiction stories.

Assist: What was the last movie you saw?

Richard: "Bullitt" with Steve McQueen.

Assist: OK. Would you describe the way you spend an average evening?

Richard: Well, when I'm working the day shift, I get home about quarter to six. Cheryl, my wife, usually has dinner ready about six-thirty. After dinner I play with my oldest boy for a while. He goes to sleep about about seven-thirty. After that we ususally watch TV or I read the paper. Sometimes some friends drop by and we play some cards or just talk. I guess that's an average evening..... Weekends we usually get a babysitter one night and go out to dinner or a movie.

Assist: All right, that's fine. Why don't we stop here and take a short break. After the break we'll go on to more personal questions.

** Victim-associated cue which was deleted for Nonassociated transcript.

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

MEASURE OF CONCENTRATION LEVEL

The following questions are designed to measure how closely you paid attention to the transcript you just read. You should be able to answer most of the questions without going back to the transcript.

1. What is the first name of the person being interviewed?

_____.

2. How old is he? 21____ 25____ 27____ 28____

3. How many children does he have? 0___ 1___ 2___ 3___ 4___

4. What city does he live in? _____

5. What is his occupation?
   - store owner _____
   - salesman _____
   - policeman _____
   - mailman _____
   - fireman _____

6. What is his religion?
   - Protestant _____
   - Catholic _____
   - Jewish _____
   - Not mentioned _____

7. What is his race?
   - Caucasian _____
   - Negroid _____
   - Mongoloid _____
   - Not mentioned _____

8. What organization is he treasurer of? _____

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

IRRELEVANT TASK 3

This scale refers to the person you have just read about (Richard S_____).

Answer as accurately as you can within the limits of your knowledge.

Make one choice for each pair.

intelligent	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unintelligent
likeable	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unlikeable
uncooperative	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	cooperative
bossy	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	easy-going
imaginative	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unimaginative
immature	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	mature
irresponsible	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	responsible
nervous	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	calm
patient	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	impatient
reasonable	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unreasonable
rigid	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	flexible
courteous	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	rude
selfish	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	unselfish
warm	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	cold
sincere	____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____	insincere

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

RECALL TEST TWO

Without looking back at Recall Test One, answer the following questions as accurately as you can.

1. How many slides were presented? _____

2. What percentage of the people were female?

   15%_____ 25%_____ 60%_____ 75%_____

3. Describe the last slide that you saw. _____

   _____

4. Was the narrator of the tape male _____ or female _____?

5. Where did case #113 occur? _____

6. Which of the following was not shown?

   Case #16_____

   Case #74_____

   Case #103_____

   Case #156_____

EVALUATION OF THE EXPERIMENT

1. How clear were the instructions?

!_____!
Very clear Very unclear

2. Did you have time to complete the various parts of the questionnaire?

yes_____ no_____

3. What were you thinking about while the experiment was in progress?

4. Suggestions and comments.

DATE DUE			